

BRIEFING PAPER
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The US has consistently urged Japan to assume greater responsibility for its own defense and to share more equitably with us the burdens of mutual security. Prime Minister Nakasone is our philosophical ally but he must overcome political and fiscal obstacles to a substantially larger Japanese contribution to mutual security.

Nevertheless, increasingly favorable public attitudes toward defense have allowed substantial progress in the security relationship, e.g., Japan's decision to fund construction for deployment of F-16s to Misawa, the decision to allow exports of weapons technology to the US, the ongoing joint study of sealane defense, and annual host nation support contributions of more than \$1 billion (which compares to USG expenditures of \$1.9 billion).

As enunciated by former Prime Minister Suzuki in 1981 and reiterated by Nakasone, Japan's basic defense goals are to protect Japan's territory and territorial seas and skies and its sealanes of communication out to 1,000 n.m. The U.S. has endorsed this approach but has pointed out that Japan's force modernization effort must proceed at about double the pace of recent years in order to meet these goals within this decade. In addition to procuring new front-line equipment, Japanese forces must also remedy serious deficiencies in combat sustainability and command and communications.

In making its case to the Japanese the US, since the advent of the Reagan Administration, has emphasized the "roles and missions" concept rather than defense spending per se, taking the view that, for his own domestic political purposes, Nakasone needs to present his defense programs as "Made in Japan", not imposed by Washington. Nonetheless, the Japanese are well aware of the symbolic importance of their defense spending plans. Privately, the US has at all levels stressed that a greater Japanese defense effort is important not only to our mutual security but also to disarming Congressional critics who mix or link alleged Japanese foot-dragging on defense with trade issues, thereby threatening the health of the overall US-Japan relationship.

With general elections looming sometime during the first half of next year, Nakasone will be hard pressed to sustain the 6.88 percent defense spending boost planned for JFY 1984, given the 10 percent cuts envisioned in social expenditures. While U.S. pressure on Nakasone could help sustain or possibly increase planned defense outlays, it also runs the risk, if publicly disclosed, of weakening Nakasone politically by creating the appearance that he bent to U.S. dictates. For that reason, the Inter-agency Group that planned your trip has recommended that discussion of defense issues should be reserved principally for private discussions with Nakasone.

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